

be perpetuated for any considerable number of years. That mode is by expansion, and that expansion must be in the direction of Mexico. There is in Mexico a large extent of territory that is suited to the cultivation of cotton, sugar and rice. In my opinion we must, and we are compelled to expand in that direction, and thus perpetuate it a hundred or a thousand years, it may be.

It may be asked, when will the time come when we shall separate from the North? I say candidly, if the views expressed by the gentleman from Iowa are, as he says, common to the Republican party, and if they are determined to enforce those views, I declare myself ready to-day. I would not ask to delay the time a single hour.

You ask me when will the time come? when will the South be united? It will be when you elect a Black Republican—Hale, Sumner, or Chase—President of the United States. Whenever you undertake to place such a man to preside over the destinies of the South, you may expect to see us undivided and indivisible friends, and to see all parties of the South arrayed to resist his inauguration.

We can never quietly stand by and permit the control of the Army and Navy to go into the hands of a Black Republican President.

Union sentiments, whenever or by whomsoever uttered, grate harshly on Democratic ears, and to the accounts of disunion. When Mr. Stokes, of Tennessee, the other day rebuked the disloyal sentiments which so glibly fall from Democratic lips; when he, in eloquent, manly, and patriotic language declared his devotion to the Union; when he quoted and endorsed as his own the words of Henry Clay, that he would consent to the dissolution of the Union, never! never! never! the Democracy fainted, and gnashed its teeth in impotent wrath.

Governor Letcher, of Virginia, in his recent message to the Legislature of his State, avows the rank-and-file disunion and revolutionary sentiments. In this document he declares that if a Republican President is elected in 1860—

"It is useless to attempt to conceal the fact that, in the present temper of the Southern people, it cannot be and will not be submitted to. The 'irrepressible conflict' doctrine, announced and advocated by the ablest and most distinguished leader of the Republican party, is an open declaration of disunion, which is the only alternative to African slavery wherever it exists; and I would declare that the election of such a man, entertaining such sentiments, and advocating such doctrines, ought to be resisted by the seceding States. The idea of permitting such a man to have the control and direction of the Army and Navy of the United States, and the appointment of high judicial and executive officers, postmasters included, cannot be entertained by the South for a moment."

I might quote, Mr. President, the avowals of disunion sentiments by other Democratic leaders, and other Democratic presses; for these avowals of disloyalty to the unity of the Republic are scattered, in rank luxuriance, broadcast over the land. But I must pause. I have, however, gathered up enough of these noisy manes of disunion, which are falling thick and fast around us, to show to the Senate and the country that the accepted leaders of the Democratic party are secessionists and disunionists, and the avowals of disunion perpetually on their lips, and its spirit burning in their hearts. I have also gathered up, from the mass of facts which lie at my feet, enough to show that the Democratic party is tainted with the odor of disunion, that the stain of disloyalty is now indelibly stamped upon its brow. I have shown, too, that these manes of disunion, which Democratic leaders are hurrying around us in this Capitol, go unrebuked by the Northern Democracy, whose glory it is to follow these apostles of secession, and disunion. The country will not fail to see, and to mark, too, the discreditable fact, that while Democratic leaders in the Chambers are muttering angry manes of disunion, and while such manes are unrebuked, even by the faintest whippers of the Democratic representatives of the loyal North and West, the Democratic presses in the North and West are busy—not in railing upon the heads of Democratic disunionists the withering rebuke of patriotism—but in the work of misrepresenting and calumniating those who cling to the Union with unswerving fidelity, alike in victory and in defeat. The country, too, will not fail to see that the Democratic orators dare not, even at a safe distance, utter the softest censure against the disloyalty of leaders they follow as the headless hounds of the South; but that they are appealing to the selfish fears of men to disown their manhood, and by acts of humiliation appease the awakened wrath of the Democratic chieftains now menacing the integrity of the Union.

Mr. President, the American Democracy, led by slave perpetuators and propagators, is a disunionist, now in the light of this age, stands before the nation the enemy of human progress, and in favor of the conservation and propagation of old abuses. No longer does the Democracy utter the accounts of popular rights. No longer does the Democracy sympathize with man at home or abroad, struggling for the recovery of lost rights, or the enlargement of existing privileges. Does the Legislature of Kansas pass an act for the abolition of slavery there? Democracy resists it, and arrests it by Executive action. Does the Legislature of Nebraska, left perfectly free to form their own domestic institutions in their own way, pass a bill to wipe from that vast Territory the pollution of slavery? Democracy resists it, and arrests it by Executive veto, and applauds that veto. Does the Legislature of New Mexico enact a bloody slave code? Democracy promptly protests, and demands its repeal. Does the Legislature of California, in the name of the Commonwealth, enact a law by which the burdens of a proscribed race, so that it may rise into the sunlight of a broader and higher manhood? Democracy is outraged, shocked, and it avenges itself by gibbering taunts, jeers, and jibes. Does the slave State enact or propose to enact statutes to still more oppress those already bending under the iron heel of oppression, or to check the action of its own citizens who may be prompted by sentiments of benevolence or a sense of justice to lessen the bitterness of bondage, or give freedom to their own bondsmen? Democracy approves and applauds it. Does Walker, at the head of a lawless band of filibusters, decree slavery in Central America? Democracy hails and applauds that decree. Does any indication point to the possible abolition of slavery in Cuba? Democracy protests, cannot permit it; will pay \$200,000,000 for that slavish island, but will not accept the 'Gem of the Antilles,' if burdened with freedom. Does England strike the fetters from the limbs of eight hundred thousand West Indian bondsmen? Democracy deprecates it, disapproves it, and persists in misrepresenting the effects of that great act of justice and humanity. Does the Emperor of Russia propose a plan for the emancipation of millions, not of the African race, but of white men? Democracy shakes its head, shrugs its shoulders, utters no note of joy, sends no word of encouragement or greeting to the enlightened monarch who would enlarge the rights and elevate the condition of men. Does the Republican party, imbued with the sentiments of the Republican fathers, propose to arrest the expansion of slavery over the Territories of the Republic, and save those Territories to free labor, check the re-opening slave traffic, and put the national Government in harmony with a progressive Christian civilization? Democracy, smitten with the consciousness of its waning power, raises the startling cry of disunion. To its abandonment of the sentiments, opinions, and policy of the Republican fathers, to its betrayal of the rights and interests of free labor and the cause of human rights at home and abroad, is now added disloyalty to the integrity of the Union. Let the intelligent patriotism of the nation rebuke this mad exhibition of folly and fanaticism which would shiver this Union into broken fragments, and proclaim, in the words of Andrew Jackson—"The Union must and shall be preserved."

DEATH OF MRS. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN.

A heavy cloud was over the Anti-Slavery Anniversary in Boston, last week, in consequence of the painful intelligence of the sudden death of the gifted, beloved, and greatly honored Mrs. ELIZA LEE FOLLEN, widow of the late Professor Charles Follen, at Brookline, on Thursday, 27th ult. after an illness of a few days, of typhoid fever, aged 72 years and 6 months. A full tribute to her character and worth hereafter.

FREDERICK BROWN, brother of Capt. John Brown, being now in the vicinity of Boston for a short time, will be happy to visit a few places and address audiences on subjects of paramount interest at the present time. Persons desirous to avail themselves of this opportunity to hear a strong and earnest friend of Liberty, will please write immediately to SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 21 Cornhill, Boston.

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, FEBRUARY 3, 1860.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, at the Tremont Temple, commencing on Thursday, January 26.

At half-past 10 o'clock, the meeting was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, President of the Society, and opportunity for prayer, vocal or silent, was given.

Rev. Mr. BALDWIN, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, offered prayer.

EDMUND GARRISON, Treasurer of the Society, made the Annual Report of the Treasurer's finances. It showed Receipts \$9,863 78; Expenditures, \$9,272 47; Balance in Treasury, Jan. 1, \$691 31. The report was certified by the Auditor, Wm. L. BOWDITCH, Esq., to be correct.

Voted, To accept the Treasurer's Report, and publish it with the proceedings.

CHARLES K. WHIFFLER was nominated and appointed Assistant Secretary.

JAMES N. BUFFUM of Lynn, William Whiting of Concord, Josiah Hayward of Salem, Samuel Dyer of Abington, Charles K. Whipple of Boston, and Phineas B. Southwick of Milford, were appointed a Committee to nominate the usual Committees of the Annual Meeting.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., General Agent of the Society, made a brief report of the Society's doings, and of the progress of the cause during the year past.

The Nominating Committee reported the following Committees:—

On Business—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, J. H. Stephens, Stephen S. Foster, Maria W. Chapman, Abby Kelley Foster, Charles C. Burleigh, Andrew T. Foss, Charles L. Remond, Oliver Johnson.

On Finance—James N. Buffum, Elbridge Sprague, E. H. Haywood, Miss Sallie Holley, Miss Georgiana Olin.

To Nominate Officers of the Society—Edmund Quincy, James N. Buffum, William Whiting, William Ashby, Joseph Merrill.

The Society, by a unanimous vote, elected the Committees as reported.

A brief discussion, on the Petitions to the Legislature for a Law against Slave-Hunting, took place, in which G. W. Stacy, S. May, Jr., A. T. Foss, E. D. Draper, Lewis M. Lathrop of Pembroke, Mr. Allen of West Newton, J. Merrill of Danvers, and others participated.

Mr. PHILLIPS did not think it at all wonderful that petitions, especially such as that asking for the removal of the Webster statue, should recently have fallen somewhat into the shade. The events of Harper's Ferry, so exciting and so energetic, have generated an impatience of mere intellectual discussion.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Committee on Business, reported the two following resolutions:

1. Resolved, That the present condition of Church and State demands of us the most stern and rigid application of absolute right to national affairs, holding each to its highest duty.

2. Resolved, That the proposed laws of Senators Douglas and Bigler indicate the purpose of the Slave Power to make Free Speech, a Free Press, and Anti-Slavery action in the Free State, an indictable offence, and probably to carry offenders into the Slave States for trial.

Mr. PHILLIPS spoke at some length and with much force, in support of these resolutions.

In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Phillips having said that a brother of Capt. John Brown was in the audience—Frederick Brown, of Ohio—a very strong interest was manifested to see and to hear him.

FREDERICK BROWN, being invited, came to the platform, and was greeted by the cheers of the meeting, who rose spontaneously to welcome him. As he expressed his thanks to the audience, in a few words, for their sympathy with him, and with his brother's family, tears flowed freely down the rugged cheeks of men, as well as from the eyes of women, throughout the meeting.

T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, rose to explain the circumstances relating to the dismissal of the Principal of the Worcester High School, which Mr. Phillips had spoken of, and represented to be owing to the teacher's anti-slavery principles and character. He (Mr. H.) thought that gentleman was not removed on this account; he had investigated the whole matter, and was satisfied that Mr. Sprague's anti-slavery sentiments and course were not the reasons of his removal. He also dissented from Mr. Phillips's opinion that Worcester, or that Massachusetts, would not protect her citizens from an assault of the Federal power, in behalf of slavery. It will be time enough to bring this charge when she has been tried and found wanting. When persons claimed as slaves, or persons charged with treason to the Slave Power, will instead of flying to Canada, or to Europe, trust Massachusetts to protect them, and she fails to do so, then let her be arraigned. At present, it has never been tried. To sustain and strengthen freedom, you must trust freedom. Every fugitive sent from Massachusetts to Canada has helped to demoralize Massachusetts, accustoming her to yield, instead of standing her ground. Worcester has publicly invited the fugitive slave to remain and live within her borders.

JOSEPH A. HOWLAND, of Worcester, dissented entirely from Mr. Higginson's ideas respecting the true reasons of the dismissal of the High-School teacher of that city. He believed that the teacher's anti-slavery action was the reason of his removal. Nor could he share Mr. Higginson's confidence as to the people of Worcester making any resistance to United States authority in defence of persons assailed in Worcester.

Mrs. ABBY K. FOSTER—I reside in Worcester.

Worcester has never invited the fugitive slaves, or alleged traitors to this pro-slavery government, to come there for protection. A question answered by a promiscuous audience in Worcester is not to be taken as the voice of the city. Neither the Mayor nor any responsible official of that city has ever given countenance or assistance to such a measure. Even the mechanic Senator from Worcester said, in a public meeting there, that he could not vote for the protection of Massachusetts citizens against the Federal Government, and no disapprobation came from the meeting. There is a strong under-current of feeling in that city against any man who takes a disunion position.

Mr. HIGGINSON explained. Mrs. Foster never comes short of her duty in telling the people of Worcester of their deficiencies and faults, in respect to the Anti-Slavery cause; and she always predicts that they will fall in protecting fugitive slaves and their defenders. She has said that no official of Worcester had sanctioned the measure of protecting the fugitive slave at all hazards; she appears to have forgotten that the gentleman (William W. Rice, Esq.) who presided at the Worcester meeting which invited the fugitive slave to remain there, had also been elected Mayor of the city by a triumphant vote. We have one place in Massachusetts in advance of the rest of the State. Let us trust it, and make trial of it in time of need.

JOHN BROWN made a few remarks on the subject of the wrongs of the Indians of this country; and as he proceeded to call up a young Indian woman to sing a song, objection was made by Mrs. Foster, after a order; and the singing was postponed until after the adjournment.

Voted, That the hours of assembling, during the Annual Meeting, be 10 A. M., 2-4 P. M., and 7 P. M.

Adjourned to the afternoon.

AFTERNOON.—Re-assembled at the Melrose; FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

Mr. JACKSON exhibited a small bell, recast from the old bell on Liberty Hall in New Bedford, which had been presented to him, as President of this Society, by the Hon Rodney French.

The little bell, which has a beautiful tone, bears this inscription:

"Made from a fragment of Liberty Hall Bell. New Bedford, Jan. 1860."

The resolutions reported in the morning being before the meeting, remarks were made by GEORGE W. STACY and DANIEL RICKETSON, who prefaced his remarks by the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, dreadful as slavery is, its abolition, in order to secure the highest good of humanity, must be accomplished without bloodshed.

Resolved, That to be a true abolitionist, it is necessary to be true to humanity, and therefore any measure which violate the great cause of human rights, though intended for the good of the slave, cannot be sound.

Resolved, That so long as the Anti-Slavery agitation is conducted on the principles of peace and good will, we can reasonably absolve ourselves from any violent measures adopted by others for the liberation of the oppressed.

The discussion was continued by DANIEL S. WURNET, who thought there need be no clashing on this subject; that it was the duty of every one to oppose slavery with those instrumentalities which he believed to be right. Being a Non-Resistant himself, he could wish that every man in the land were as Wm. Lloyd Garrison; if that could not be, he should wish him to be as John Brown was. (Applause.)

Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

3. Resolved, That in view of the present activity of thought on the subject of Slavery, we recommend to the friends of freedom throughout the State to institute, each in his or her own neighborhood, discussions for the consideration of all questions relating to human rights in this so-called Union.

4. Resolved, That he who asserts that there is not an 'irrepressible conflict' between Freedom and Slavery—between free institutions and slave institutions—between the spirit which abolishes human chattelism and the spirit which perpetuates it—but that these are harmonious elements, or by compromise and forbearance can be made such in the same government, and can be brought into collision only by the efforts of fanaticism or sedition—is either idiotic, morally speaking, or a self-convinced demagogue, intent on nothing but the gratification of his own desperate ambition.

5. Resolved, therefore, That the party which talk of the 'glorious Union' existing between the North and the South, and of the duty of maintaining it as an object of paramount importance, a smitten with judicial blindness and brief of reason—talks of what has never been, and, in the nature of things, can never be possible—is either the dupe or the ally of a stupendous imposture, which an insane and criminal experiment of three-score years has demonstrated is working the overthrow of all the safeguards of freedom—and, consequently, is a party neither to be trusted nor followed.

6. Resolved, That 'the glorious Union,' ever since its formation, has signified nothing but the supremacy of a Southern slave oligarchy, as unscrupulous in the attainment of their object as a band of pirates, as murderous in spirit as they are knavish in conduct, who have claimed a divine right to rule, according to their pleasure, alike the slaves on their plantations and the people of the Free States, without remonstrance or interposition, and as the condition of the perpetuation of 'the glorious Union' aforesaid.

7. Resolved, That the privileges accorded to Northern citizens sojourning or traveling in the South, under this Union, are these:—to wear padlocks upon their lips—to forward their manhood by bowing down to the Moloch of Slavery—to speak in behalf of the enslaved at the peril of their lives—to be tarred and feathered, if they are suspected of cherishing anti-slavery sentiments—to be thrust into prison, and sold as slaves on the auction-block, if they are of African descent—to be scourged, branded, lynched, and driven out by mobocratic violence, even while in the prosecution of their legitimate business, simply because they are Northern men.

8. Resolved, That the privileges accorded to Southern citizens sojourning or traveling in the North, under this Union, are these:—to speak with impunity whatever they please as against free institutions and free society—to advocate slavery and the slave traffic as worthy of universal extension, without interference, menace or personal danger, and to an unlimited extent—to hold any meeting or publish any journal they may choose, in which to assail the uncompromising friends of freedom as fanatics and traitors, and to glorify 'the lords of the lash' as the only true friends of their country—and, in short, to threaten, bully, and calumniate, *ad libitum*, whatever or whoever is deemed by them to be adverse in spirit and sentiment to 'the sum of all villainies.'

9. Resolved, therefore, That the motto of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 'No Union with Slaveholders,' commends itself to the reason, conscience, and hearty adoption of every man claiming to be loyal to the Declaration of Independence; and it becomes the solemn duty of the North to carry it into immediate practice, as demanded by every instinct of self-preservation, and by all that is obligatory in the claims of justice and humanity.

ANDREW FOSS said that the Democratic party had once occupied higher anti-slavery ground than the Republican party occupies to-day. But there is now no longer anything left in the Democratic party to respect; all the really good and liberty-loving men have been sifted or driven out of it, by its successive humiliations before Slavery. Its base pro-slavery character is to-day everywhere recognized. But the Republican party, which once took high ground against Slavery, and which in some quarters still professes to be the anti-slavery party of the land, has been so far demoralized by its efforts to obtain supremacy in the country that it has become, said Mr. F., in my judgment, one of the chief hindrances to the progress of true anti-slavery.

J. B. SWARTZ, Esq., of Boston, spoke of the duty of the citizen in the present aspect of affairs. He thought every citizen would soon be called upon for action, and not the expression of opinion merely. No people can go on prosperously, in direct and habitual violation of the laws of God. Slaveholding is such a violation. Yet the great majority of our citizens will still deny that they are in any measure responsible for this, even while they are directly contributing to the slaveholding power by their taxes, &c. He had been asked if he was willing to break up the Union, founded with so much pain, and productive of so many advantages; and he would answer, that it was with the greatest reluctance, and very slowly, that his mind had come to the idea of the necessity of a dissolution of the present Union. He had no desire to interrupt or weaken, much less to destroy any good thing connected with the Union; but he knew, and no man could deny, that this Union stands upon an unjust, unhallowed and despotic bargain—a bargain which consigns millions of our fellow-men to the endurance of unutterable wrongs; and he knew that such a Union ought not to endure; that the mischiefs which flow from it must far outweigh all its benefits; that it must be, as he verily believed it was, an en-

couragement to tyrants, and a curse to mankind, throughout the world.

J. H. FOWLER, of Cambridge. We want action. Every step of the anti-slavery movement is towards action. We want to know what rights have the People, as against, and in spite of, this tyrannical government. Mr. F. introduced and read a very long series of resolutions, expressive of his own anti-slavery faith and mode of action. He proceeded to say that he had been a non-resistant; he was so in the time of the delivery of Anthony Burns into slavery from Boston. Twice at that time he had been threatened by the soldiers with blows; he had bared his head, and told them to strike if they chose. Now, however, he was a non-resistant no longer. The non-resistant Abolitionists, he thought, must stand aside, and make room for a phalanx of fighting men. At such a time as this, he did not see how a warm-blooded young man, who believed in such a thing as human rights, could be a non-resistant. He himself was ready for the conflict—ready for anything but slavery. He knew that sometimes these words fell from the lips with little meaning to them. He thought he understood their meaning, and that he was prepared to give his life for the cause of liberty.

W. L. GARRISON said he appreciated the spirit, and honored the manly utterances of his friend Fowler. Every man should try his own spirit, and make sure of his own position. Mr. F. had said that in the Anthony Burns' times, he was a Non-Resistant; but he was no longer so. Probably, said Mr. G., there has not been so much of a change in my young friend as he himself thinks. He has condemned the non-resistant spirit as slavish and servile, and has quoted resolutions of the New Hampshire and Tennessee Legislatures condemnatory of such non-resistance. Mr. G. said, he too, would condemn such non-resistance; that was not the non-resistance in which he believed. Who was the true representative of non-resistance? We all say Jesus Christ. Was there ought servile in him? The farthest from it, of course, all say. He leads us to nothing slavish, mean, or cowardly.

Evening. The Society assembled in the large Tremont Temple, which was well filled by a most attentive audience.

Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, of Boston, took the chair.

An anti-slavery hymn was sung—

"Hark! a voice from heaven proclaiming Comfort to the mourning slave, &c."

The resolutions were read by Mr. Quincy; after which, Rev. FREDERICK BROTHINGHAM, of Portland, being called upon, came forward and was warmly welcomed.

He made an earnest, logical, and eloquent speech, in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause, which we hope, at a future time, will be published in full.

OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq., of New York, was invited to address the meeting, and received a warm greeting from his old Massachusetts friends, as he came to the platform. He vindicated the Anti-Slavery movement; he acknowledged JOHN BROWN as its legitimate hero; he spoke of its wonderful progress and triumphs in the land. He said that Congress had not only been made (as had formerly been said) an Anti-Slavery Debating Society, but had lately been converted into an Association for advertising Anti-Slavery books, and to such an extent, that not less than five steam-presses are now at work, day and night, to meet the public demand for Helper's 'Impending Crisis.'

Rev. J. SELMA MARTIN, of Boston, (a young colored preacher of the city, a native of Tennessee,) made an eloquent, enthusiastic and stirring speech, which was received by the audience with great applause. He paid a very handsome and respectful tribute to Mr. Garrison and Wendell Phillips, and eloquently claimed a high place among the human races, in the great work of civilizing the world, for the Negro. He said it was a very great mistake to suppose that the slaves at the South were quiet and submissive. 'A dozen insurrections occur yearly. I lived eleven years in Georgia, and I know whereof I speak. These attempts are carefully and systematically kept out of the papers.' He believed that John Brown had more disciples to-day than any other man in the land.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was loudly called for. He made a most masterly address, reviewing the position of the Country, and of the Anti-Slavery Cause. [A full report of this speech will appear, it is expected, at an early day.]

At the close of Mr. Phillips's speech, which had been received with the most eager attention and applause, the Society adjourned to Friday morning.

FRIDAY.

The Society met, according to adjournment, at the Melrose, at 10 A. M., FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

Mr. STEPHENSON, of West Newton, said it seemed to him that no circumstance connected with slavery was so bad as slavery itself. The assumption that the human being can own another is the worst thing that can be assumed. Nevertheless, it is well to consider the horrible details of cruelty and injustice to which claim gives rise; the scourging, brandings, burnings of slaves, and the infringements upon the constitutional liberty of every white man who is a friend of the slave. These should all be studied and pondered, if we would know slavery as it is. Slavery exists in Massachusetts to-day, as well as in South Carolina.

One of the resolutions offered yesterday suggests a mode of action which every one can use, and which will greatly assist the Anti-Slavery cause, namely, the formation of town, village, neighborhood meetings, to consider, inquire into, and act upon, the question of slavery. Great numbers of our people now know little about it.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, wished to give his testimony to the efficacy of the mode of operation last mentioned. His observation and his experience had shown him that great good was accomplished in that manner.

Mr. STACY, of Milford, spoke of the importance of active exertion on the part of every true friend of the cause. He mentioned the stimulus we should receive from the apostasy of the Church, and mentioned the shameful conduct of Henry Ward Beecher, who left an appointment unfilled in Boston, for the express purpose of going home to defend the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and who succeeded so well in this shameful work, that his church had just decided, by a large vote, still to sustain that pro-slavery Board.

If the American church were largely composed of 'rascals,' as one of its ministers last night has admitted, how is it better than the world? But it is an enormous blunder and falsity to assert that the Church of Christ is composed of such materials. The Church of Christ never contained a rascal, and never will; never contained a slaveholder, and never will; never contained an apologist for slavery, and never will! (Applause.)

Mr. HOLDEN, of Lynn, gave his testimony to the great advantage of holding frequent meetings, small as well as large, for the discussion of slavery, all its parts, all its characteristics, all its results, and all the methods of opposing it. He also justified the position taken by many persons, who decline to sign our petition to the Legislature for a law against slave-hunting, because they could not ask a man to break his oath. I cannot ask a man to break his oath. [A. T. Foss, earnestly, 'I can; I can.' I will ask him, said Mr. H., to renounce his oath, and abandon his official position.]

CHAS. C. BURLINGAME. I honor the feeling of fidelity to principle which our friend Holden manifests. But we must not concede more than fidelity demands. We ask no man to do any wrong. In petitioning the Legislature for a law to protect the fugitive slave, we

ask a thing right in itself, and in strict accordance with the will and commands of Almighty Justice and Mercy. If any man has taken an oath contrary to these, ought he to keep such an oath?

Mr. MAY moved that the subject of donations and pledges to the Society, for its operations during the coming year, be now taken up, and that the Finance Committee now proceed to this work.

Agreed to, unanimously.

Mr. FREDERICK BROWN, of Ohio, brother of JOHN BROWN, came forward in reply to the statement of the President that many persons in the audience earnestly desired to hear him speak. He gave a full and clear exposition of his religious and moral conviction, that it is our duty to labor, work and fight against slavery, until it ceases from the face of the earth.

CHARLES L. REMOND wished to thank Mr. BROWN for his speech, in the name of the slave and the naturally free colored man. He thanked him for his frank and full manner of speaking, and for his sentiments. He proceeded to make an impassioned and eloquent speech, in vindication of the equal manhood and rights of the colored people, which was received with great applause, and made an evident impression.

Mr. FOWLER disclaimed the purpose, which had been attributed to him by one speaker, to undervalue or to speak slightly of the Peace principle, or of any true Non-Resistant. He utterly repudiated such a thought. No man in the land had produced so extensive and so wholesome an influence, to speed the cause of Freedom, as WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, the Non-Resistant. (Applause.)

Mr. BURLINGAME followed, defending ADAM BALLOU from the imputation of want of justice and sympathy towards the colored race.

Adjourned to quarter to three o'clock.

AFTERNOON. At the Melrose, according to adjournment; FRANCIS JACKSON in the chair.

HOMER B. SPRAGUE, Esq., of Worcester, by invitation, addressed the meeting. After expressing his respect for those steadfast and faithful friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, who have labored so long and perseveringly, amidst every reproach and opposition, he proceeded to examine the position of the Republican party, which he believed to be anything but an anti-slavery party. He spoke also of the Church,—said he had been pained at some remarks made here about the Church; he thought that a distinction should be made between the Church, and the Leaders of the Church. The former, he thought, are honest in the main, and ready to go right when they should see the right. But with the leaders the case is different, and they have grievously misled the people. He spoke of the 'Church Anti-Slavery Society,' of its insignificant numbers while asserting the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and of the probability that, to purchase numbers and influence, it will soon reduce its platform and lower its standard.

In concluding his speech, Mr. Sprague spoke very feelingly of the comparatively late day at which his attention had been called to this momentous subject, and in which his efforts had become enlisted in its behalf, and repeated with much impressiveness the following lines:

Last of the laborers, thy feet I grieve,
Lord of the harvest,—and my spirit grieves
That I am burdened not so much with grain,
As with a heaviness of heart and brain:
Master! behold my sheaves!

Full well I know I have more tears than wheat,
Brambles and thorns, dry stalks and withered leaves.
Therefore I blush and weep, as at thy feet
I kneel down reverently, and repeat:
Master! behold my sheaves!

(Warm applause followed.)

Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:

10. Resolved, That no language can more truly describe the American Union, in its slaveholding guarantee, than that used by the prophet Isaiah, in regard to a similar compromise with sin in his own day, namely, it is 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL;' and the warning then given is as terribly prophetic now,—'Thus saith the Lord, Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand: when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it.'

11. Resolved, That even if the Union were clear of every moral stain, still, to regard its perpetuation as of the first importance, and the preservation of liberty as of minor consideration, would indicate absolute infamy of mind, and an idolatry of spirit surpassed in folly or criminality by anything existing in Burma or Hindostan; and, dripping as it is with the blood of four millions of slaves held in captivity by its collective strength, and incurably infected as it is with its pro-slavery compromises, by which the whole country is slavishly subjugated and fearfully dishonored, it deserves to be execrated and assailed by every friend of God and man.

12. Resolved, That the same of impudence and profligacy is seen in the constant accusation of the Republican party, by the Democratic leaders and organs, as disloyal in spirit, if not in action, to the Union,—at the very time they are threatening to rend it asunder, and overturn the government by force, if a majority of the voters shall choose the Republican, instead of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency—thus proving themselves to be a most desperate faction, full of treacherous intentions if they are not allowed to have their own way.

13. Resolved, That we are ready to certify, that the Republican party has never even menaced the existence of the Union in any contingency; and that, of all the political parties that have yet been organized in this country, none has ever surpassed the Republican party in its slavish subservience to the Union; for while it is outlawed in all the South, and can neither hold meetings nor nominate candidates in that part of the country, and while neither Mr. Seward, nor Mr. Sumner, nor any other of its prominent men, is permitted freedom of speech south of Mason's and Dixon's line, it is still incessantly engaged in glorifying the Union, and pledging itself to frown upon all attempts to dissolve it.

14. Resolved, That the proposal of the Republican party to go back in our national policy to the days of Washington and Jefferson, is as wise as it would be, in case of the universal prevalence of the small pox or the Asiatic cholera, to propose to go back to the first few cases of infection, from which all subsequent ones have proceeded; for the present appalling state of the country is the legitimate fruit of the pro-slavery concessions made in the formation of the Constitution; and were the same experiment to be tried over again, as many times as there are sands on the sea-shore, the same results would

been placed on the scaffold, instead of freedom-loving John Brown and his companions, under the law, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."

Whereas, the attempt of John Brown and his associates, at Harper's Ferry, to emancipate a considerable number of the slaves in Virginia, ended in their own destruction on the scaffold and in the mortal conflict; and whereas, the authorities of Virginia claimed to have jurisdiction of the case, to the exclusion of any jurisdiction on the part of the government of the United States, which claim was yielded to by the latter; and whereas, Gov. Wise officially proclaimed to the whole country, the ability of Virginia to protect herself against all her enemies; and whereas, if there are any other persons legally implicated in the doings of John Brown, the courts of Virginia and the courts of the United States are competent to dispose of them; therefore,

24. Resolved, That the appointment of an Inquisitorial Committee, by the U. S. Senate, at the instigation of Senator Mason, the infamous author of the Fugitive Slave Law, with full powers to call for persons and papers in relation to the Harper's Ferry tragedy, is an act of flagrant usurpation which ought to be resisted by every free State; is palpably oppressive, insulting and malignant in its purpose, and a daring step toward "crushing out" every vestige of civil and personal liberty at the North, by procuring such action on the part of Congress as shall make the liberty of speech, as against slavery, constructive "incendiarism" and "treason."

25. Resolved, That the satanic design of this inquiry must be palpable to the duldest vision, in view of the fact that the Senate, by a strict party vote, refused to adopt Senator Trumbull's amendment, also to inquire into the seizure of a U. S. Marshal in Missouri by the "Border Ruffians," who, armed with their weapons, went over into Kansas, wounding and murdering its free citizens, and perpetrating an extended series of horrible outrages in the service of slavery.

26. Resolved, That in giving their unanimous support to Senator Mason's resolution, after this refusal to allow an impartial investigation, the Republican Senators of the North not only stultified themselves, but became accessory to all the villainy wrapped up in that resolution, and deserve the severest condemnation.

Mr. WELLS BROWN said a great benefit to the cause had been rendered by Mrs. Child's admirable letter to Mr. Mason, of Virginia. He should suppose that no Southern man or woman could read the letter of Mrs. Mason, without feeling their cheeks tingle for shame. He had, however, found one lady in Massachusetts to justify that feeling; though he must, in justice, say that the lady in question was connected by marriage with slaveholders. He urged that all rights and privileges which belonged to, or were good for, the white man, are equally good for, and equally belong to, the colored man.

Mr. Brown thought that his friends Remond and Rock need not spend much more time in talking on the subject of prejudice against colored people—he thought the subject was coming right, and we need only to "wait a little longer," in corroboration of which, he told an amusing anecdote of an experience he had on board a Western steamer, in which the feelings of the company had been completely turned against a pompous man who had endeavored to drive him from the table.

E. H. HEYWOOD, in a spirit of humorous mimicry, the recent Faneuil Hall "Union" Meeting, at which Caleb Cushing exhibited himself so characteristically. He vindicated the character and motives of John Brown, as a man of the highest faith and courage, as the most perfect specimen of a true, noble, and heroic man, that our country has yet produced.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, further reported as follows:

Resolved, That, in the name of the Constitution of Massachusetts, and the Constitution of the United States, we record our solemn protest against the veto of Gov. Banks, subversive of the equal rights of the colored citizens of Massachusetts in relation to the militia law, and against the opinion of the Supreme Court in support of that veto, and of the prospective veto of Congress of 1879; for no where does the U. S. Constitution give to Congress the right to insult and outrage any portion of the recognized citizens of any of the States; and the State that consents to such treatment, while demanding full allegiance of its citizens, deserves not to be called a free State, but is guilty of the meanest oppression and the basest treachery.

28. Resolved, That the erection of the statue of Daniel Webster on the State House grounds, by the consent of the Legislature, on the advice of Gov. Banks, was a fraud upon the people, and an insult to the Commonwealth; and it becomes the duty of the present Legislature, while with one hand putting an end to slave-holding in this State, with the other to haul from its pedestal the brazen image of the man whose last years were spent in calling upon the people to be ready to engage in every slave-hunt in their hands, and to "conquer their prejudices" against "slavery" and "betting the two-legged bloodhounds of the South."

Mr. GARRISON, spoke of the successive bereavements of early and faithful friends which the Anti-Slavery cause has suffered, in unusual number, during the year past; then of the importance of yet more energetic and consistent labor among those that remain; and finally, of the miserable inconsistency of the Republican party, who shout for the Union while it is destroying the liberty, both political and individual, of their own members.

The meeting was next addressed by WENDELL PHILLIPS.

[We hope that the speeches of Messrs. Garrison and Phillips will appear in full, from a photographic report.—*Securities.*]

Mr. GARRISON read a very interesting letter from THOMAS GARRITT, of Wilmington, Delaware.

He also read an extract from the New York Tablet, (the Roman Catholic organ in that city,) referring to the recent case of the lynching and unusually base treatment of a young Irishman in South Carolina, in which that paper, in its very remarkable lack of vision in the existing case, denounced the cruelty and its perpetration in very proper terms, and declared the "Union not worth preserving," where such things could be done with impunity.

The resolutions before the Society were adopted, and the Society, on motion, then adjourned, sine die.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.
SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Secretary.
CHARLES K. WHITFIELD, Secretary.

SUBSCRIPTION-FESTIVAL AND ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Anti-Slavery Subscription-Festival was held at Music Hall, in this city, on Wednesday evening, 25th ult. The attendance was numerous, (two or three thousand persons being present during the evening,) drawn together from various parts of the Commonwealth, and constituting a rare assemblage of intellectual strength, moral excellence, and well-embodied philanthropy. All felt to be a delightful and strengthening occasion. A liberal supply of refreshments was gratuitously provided—there was excellent music, both vocal and instrumental—and speeches made by Edmund Quincy, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Philip Gansgely, the converted Brahmin. The amount contributed for the cause was upwards of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS.—[Further particulars hereafter.]

The Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society held six interesting and well-attended sessions on Thursday and Friday. The proceedings were spirited, high-toned, and very harmonious.

SPEECH OF DR. JOHN S. ROCK,
Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston, Jan. 27, 1880.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is no trifling matter, no childish play, to attempt to make a speech upon slavery on this platform, where every phase of the institution of this Republic is presented from time to time by those noble men and women, who have devoted their lives to exposing this "sum of all villainies," and who have so thoroughly canvassed this question that it is difficult to find a place to put in a word edgewise. It is true the present aspect of the slavery question is enough to make even "the stones cry out," yet to make a speech after the gentlemen who have addressed you, and before those who are to follow me, is (to borrow a few lines from Shakespeare) to attempt

"To gild refined gold, to paint the lily,
To throw a perfume on the violet,
To smooth the ice, or add another hue
Unto the rainbow, or with taper light
To seek the beauteous eye of heaven to garnish—
Is wasteful and ridiculous excess."

Such being my feelings, I shall not make an attempt at a speech. I desire simply to present you with a few thoughts on this subject, for I think that in times like these, every man can afford to say something. Yes, now when the impudent negro has entered both Houses of Congress, and is stubbornly persisting in remaining there, notwithstanding the fact he is closely contested both by Democrats and Republicans; when Wendell Phillips and Henry Wilson are to be driven into Canada, and Gov. Wise is to carry the war into England; when Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, and the entire anti-slavery host is to be swept away by the powers that be; when the free colored people are being more severely persecuted than ever; when many men claiming to be the friends of liberty are seeking to preserve an unholy alliance, and are avowing again and again that they have no desire to interfere with the abomination of abominations; and when every thing tends to convince us that we are sleeping on the crater of a slumbering volcano, I may, I think, be pardoned as an interested party, if I express my feelings on some of the points which I have mentioned, and others which have been stated in the resolutions.

Within the last six months, certain pro-slavery and Republican newspapers have been discussing the question, "What shall be done with the free colored people?" "What shall be done with the free colored people?" "What shall be done with the free colored people?" This would be regarded as monstrous. But then it must be remembered that this is in democratic and republican America, where an enlightened Court of Supreme Jurisdiction (applause) have decided that men with black skins have no rights that men with white skins are bound to respect. Having failed, by barbarous treatment, to blot out the humanity of a race, they now add insult to injury. Like Alexander the Great, when he found out that he could not conquer the Scythians, he called them barbarians. But do the men who attempt to discuss this question feel themselves to be slaveholders, and we their property? If not, upon what principle of right can we be disposed of? Has a man or a set of men a right to dispose of that which does not belong either to him or to them? Have the whites a greater right to dispose of the blacks, than the blacks have to dispose of the whites? (Several voices—"No, no.") To be sure, the whites have the physical power, and the means to annihilate the blacks, but has the great moral power of the American people dwindled down to brute force? To entertain such a question is creditable to neither the heads nor the hearts of the freemen of the North. (Applause.)

You know too well that much of the wealth and prosperity of this country has been extracted from the sweat and life-blood of the black man. Now, when his intelligence teaches him to refuse to labor without compensation, you seriously entertain a proposition for removing him from the country! Have you overlooked the fact, that this country is *ours* as well as yours—that we have won our rights here, not only by incessant toil, but by shedding our blood in its defence? There is not a battle-field from Maine to Louisiana, that has not been crimsoned by our blood, and whitened by our bones.

It is said that the two races cannot exist together in freedom. Such an idea is preposterous. No one doubts our ability to remain here as slaves, but the moment we become free, we become an antagonistic race, and exceedingly objectionable. Even in freedom, there is but little prejudice against those who are exceedingly degraded, but in proportion as we become educated and elevated, the prejudice increases, and we become antagonistic. And it is only as a cultivated, industrious, and highly moral people, that we are objected to! The Americans have certainly an elevated standard!

Those who advocate our removal say the free blacks are an incubance. If such were the fact, I think we could easily trace to its causes outside of us, and within the detestable policy which this government pursues toward us, and which, if removed, the objection would cease. When white men, with every advantage and stimulus, become incubances, it would not be surprising if colored men, who have but little to hope for, and nothing to aspire to, should be as worthless as themselves, or, as a class, that we should become indolent and improvident. But the charge is false. We will compare favorably with the Germans, Italians and Irish, who are not oppressed.

In many of the Free States, we are not only deprived of every political and nearly every social right, but we are taxed to support schools and institutions that we are not permitted to enter. In Philadelphia, where there is a larger free colored population than is to be found in any other city in the United States, we are in possession of property, real and personal, to the value of several millions of dollars. We pay taxes enough to support our own poor, and have a handsome surplus left, which goes to support the free schools and other institutions that we are not permitted to enter, and to take care of those poor whites who "can't take care of themselves." (Laughter and applause.)

The masses of those who have discussed this question, argue that colonization is the remedy. Perhaps it is. There are many reasons and much philosophy in abandoning a country and people who have so diligently sought to crush us. But, then, it must be remembered that there is no other country that is particularly inviting to us, and on this account the masses of the colored people, who think for themselves, have believed that the same effort made in working our way up in this country, and in civilizing the whites, would accomplish our object as certain and as easy as we could by emigrating to a foreign country, and overcoming the disadvantages of language, climate, low wages, and other obstacles which would tend to embarrass us in a strange country. This being our country, we have made up our minds to remain in it, and to try to make it worth living in. (Applause.) These are our reasons for not wishing to leave this slavery-cursed land. You are sadly mistaken, if you suppose that we prefer being oppressed here, to being freemen in other countries. The intelligent portion of the colored people are rapidly losing their attachment for this country. But, then, we have the here, and friends that are unwilling to leave to their fate. John Brown's sympathizers will never die while we live. (Applause.)

The hardest question that I had to answer in Europe, was, "Why do the free colored people in the United States, who have means, remain in that country?" Europeans, in general, have no confidence in the success of liberty in this country; and they ridiculed the idea of attempting to work out a moral victory among a people who trample liberty under their feet, and who think it no more a crime to enslave a man than to work a horse; and who have never seen the establishment of slavery in this country, wanted an apology

for enslaving us, or for robbing us of our inalienable rights. A Frenchman said to me, one day, "You might as well preach fasting to a starving man, as morality to an American." (Laughter.)

Now, those men who object to giving us our rights, say, "If we give them their rights, we must invite them to our houses, and mingle with them in marriage." This is a mistake. We ask only for our rights. (Hear.) So far as the social relation is concerned, that must regulate itself. There may be those colored men who have a morbid desire to mingle, socially, among the whites; but I do not think that the desire is greater on our part, than it is on yours. (Laughter and applause.) We all have our prejudices, and our reasons for them. Much of our prejudice against us is, no doubt, on account of the difference in our social and intellectual conditions. Much of our prejudice against you is the result of the injuries we have received at your hands. (Applause.) While I am forced to accord to the people of this country an unparalleled degree of generosity, and especially so towards the colored man, yet, all colored men do not suffer alike. I see many respectable colored men, who complain of being insulted nearly every day in the streets of Boston. I have been more fortunate; I have never been insulted in this city. I can say more: I have no friends among that class of men called pro-slavery (applause); and I have met, from every grade in society, the most unequivocal marks of respect. No one insults me; no one ever says a pert thing to me. Even drunken loafers pass me by without unpleasant remarks made in my hearing. I have no friends ashamed to meet me anywhere, or to invite me to their houses, or to visit me in return. I have not one word of complaint to make in this direction—not one.

Mr. REMOND. Will my esteemed friend Dr. Rock tell us why it is that he is not insulted? We know that there is a gentleman in this city who goes to the Slave States, and is not insulted; but we know the reason. Will my friend Dr. Rock explain how he escapes? This very day, when I had not left this hall more than ten minutes, I was assailed with the remark, "There's that d—d nigger that spoke this morning." I consider the Doctor's point an important one, and hope he will explain how he escapes insult.

Dr. ROCK, resuming. I have been speaking only of myself. I cannot speak for Mr. Remond; and you perceive that he has not seen fit to tell us where he was, when he was insulted. (Uproarious laughter and applause.)

I confess that I do not feel so thin-skinned, on this color question, as my much-esteem and very able and eloquent friend, Mr. Remond, seems to feel. I believe there is, to a certain extent, a legitimate prejudice existing in all communities. It is not founded on the accidental distinctions of color or race. Such a prejudice is simply the result of ignorance. But there is a deeper prejudice—it is of morals and intelligence. If a man feels that I am his inferior, I do not see why he should be expected to associate with me. All men prefer to associate with their equals. The rich prefer to associate together, and the learned together, the moral together, and the vicious together; and to attempt to associate the refined with the vulgar, the moral with the vicious, or the anti-slavery with the pro-slavery, is to attempt to mix oil with water.

Besides, every man has a right to choose his company, or to fancy this color more than that. If any man is not pleased with my color, that is his business; and I do not think I have a right to meddle with it. I have neither the time nor the disposition to trouble myself because he lacks good taste. (Laughter.) I desire the society of no one, unless it is mutual. If a gentleman takes a seat beside me in a lecture-room, a concert, or a railroad-car, before making the discovery that I am a colored man, and then shows his ill-breeding by appearing uneasy, and finally seeking a seat elsewhere, we are both pleased—*he*, because he has avoided the presence of a "nigger," and I, that of a *nigger*. (Applause.) We are, therefore, kept apart by the force of mutual repulsion. There is both truth and poetry in the remark of Swift—"If a man makes me keep my distance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the same time." (Applause.)

The prejudice that I complain of, is that which robs me of my inalienable rights; and which not only closes against me every avenue to wealth and position, but which refuses me even the common facilities for gaining an honest livelihood,—thereby forcing me to remain poor and degraded, and that simply because I am a colored man.

As to the "mingling in marriage," that has nothing to do with our rights. Certain enemies of the Anti-Slavery movement, when cornered on this question of Human Rights, have a contemptible manner of begging the question, by saying, "Why would you be willing to have your daughter marry a nigger? Just as though your daughter, and everybody else's daughter, were crazy to marry 'niggers'; and the moment you gave the black man his rights, that moment they would seize upon and take him, *volens nolens*!" (Laughter.) If this is to be the result of freedom to the blacks, it is indeed sad (laughter); and especially so to the blacks themselves, who are to be still the victims—first, of force, then of mind love. O. I am almost tempted to complain of the Creator for first giving us among a people who are continually trying to extract the virtues from it. (Laughter and applause.) Do you not really pity those fathers who have daughters with such strange affections? (Laughter.) Have you seriously thought of what is to become of those timid young men who have been, for years, trying to muster up courage enough to "pop the question"? (Laughter.) What desperate crimes will they not commit on their frail "human nature," on beholding the darling objects of their affections, like genuine Amazons, bearing off "great big niggers" in triumph? (Laughter and applause.)

My friends, you are brave men. You cannot, I know you will not, suffer this exciting question to pass away without a manly resistance. "Only to think" of the blacks and rambos dying out with the first generation, the mulattoes with the second, the quadroons with the third, and then, in the fourth generation—"O! horrible to relate,—the twin will be of one flesh." These glorious meetings will be abolished. You will not have the pleasure of destroying the Constitution or dissolving the Union. Your "occupation" will be "gone"; and you will not have the pleasure of saying of the blacks, as we can all now say of our democratical amalgamation propagandists, that "the time and places that know them now, will shortly know them no more forever." (Laughter and applause.)

So far, I am most happy to say, that the practical friends of amalgamation have been pro-slavery whites, and many of the colored men in the United States demonstrate very clearly the character of American prejudice, and the irrepressible antagonism of the races. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, the blacks are not yet disposed of, and it will be some time before we are. We may leave this country quietly, or be driven into Canada or the West Indies, but that does not dispose of us. We are still within speaking and acting distance. At present we are, to all appearances, perfectly indifferent to the result of this great contest—but appearances are often deceitful. Every man who knows is not asleep. Now, what impression do you think the institution of Slavery at the South, and prejudice at the North, is making upon the Afro-American race in this country? I will tell you. It is making every intelligent colored man hate his country, and swear vengeance against it. I doubt very much whether any considerable number of colored men would, in case of war with any foreign country, take up arms to defend a government which has never ceased to oppress them. (Hear.) There is no country in the civilized world, no matter how despotic, that would abolish our citizenship, or deny us equal privileges with others, or refuse to protect us with its strong arm. (Hear.) The Austrian Government is far preferable to this. We hear enough of French despotism, but the despotism of France, as compared to that of the United States, is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. Napoleon watches with a parental eye over the interests of the humblest of his subjects. He is a great statesman, and knows that the interests of his subjects are his own interests. But the wicked rulers of this Democratical Government, which lives only by devouring her subjects, and, like the *ours* on *ocean* of Brazil, which forms its nest of the bones of the animals it has killed, build up and support this despotism by the gold wrung out of the flesh, blood, and bones of the negro. I have no desire to insult the Christian world by a comparison between this unhappy country and France—I would no more think of comparing Napoleon III. with Buchanan the *Last*, than I would the Saviour with Beelshebzub. And in case of war between the two countries, the colored man would have everything to gain by fighting on the side of France.

We have suffered too much to be indifferent to the result of a war with any other country. If Governor Banks (who is, no doubt, more deeply interested in the Chicago nomination than in the removal of the word "white" from our statutes) refuses to give us arms to defend our country, you ought not to be surprised if the opportunity offers, and we should resent it. This is natural. If you tread on a nail, she will shoot out his horns.

At present, the colored population of this country is a third larger than the entire population at the time of the war of the Revolution, in which our fathers took part. To-day, one hundred thousand freemen, capable of bearing arms, and three-quarters of a million of slaves, with the enthusiasm caused by the dawn of the glorious opportunity of being able to strike a genuine blow for freedom, will be a power that "white men" will be "bound to respect." Will the blacks fight? Of course they will. The black man will never be neutral—he would not if he could, and he could not if he would. Will he fight for this country right or wrong? This the common sense of every one answers; and when the time comes, and come it will, the black man will give an intelligent answer. And those who are continually seeking new modes to oppress us, ought to remember that "the lion had need of the mouse."

I am certain that if foreign nations knew of the smothering fires that are in need only of a breath of pure air to fan them into a flame, and the sympathy they would meet with here, they would have less respect for the strength of this government.

Civil and foreign wars are scourges which every Christian man must deprecate. I am certain that colored men are patriotic. No man ever heard of a colored traitor. We love this country, and we love you. Nothing could be more foreign to our desires than the necessity for taking up arms against our own country. But there must be an end to this persecution. We cannot suffer forever. And as Mr. Everett has said, and perhaps truly, that at least civil war must be the result of this conflict, then I would be prepared for it. If the blacks are to be annihilated, then let it be done when we are contending for our rights. We have much better die freemen, than live to be slaves. (Applause.) When Mr. Everett spoke of the terrible wrong which are to close up this conflict, and cited Hayti as an example, he ought to have been honest enough to have stated who were the aggressors, and the terrible crimes and savage barbarities that were resorted to, to re-fasten the shackles on the limbs of the blacks; and to state also that the acts which he spoke of were not deliberate crimes committed in cold blood, but the result of the most barbarous treatment that disgraces the pages of history, and which goaded them on to revenge. They were fighting for their liberty, and were perfectly justifiable in annihilating everything that stood in their way. (Applause.) Mr. Everett quotes from some unknown author, whose name he no doubt felt would not add to his cause. I am certain that it was not from Arduin's *Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Hayti*, which is the most perfect and complete history of the Island that has ever been published. But Mr. Everett is not particular to be correct. He hates justice, facts, and black men, and garbles from slaveholders, newspapers, and history, and uses them all to aid him in a bad cause. He is one of that class of great men who are fond of being exceedingly little. (Applause.) He condemns the blacks for wresting their independence from the French and English, and driving them from the Island. His arguments remind me of the ignorance of the Greek priest, who, in his condemnation, praised the pictures of Titian, that he refused to accept. "Your scandalous figures stand out," said he, "from the canvases like a group of statues." And, Mr. Everett, "your negroes are so imbued with the contemptible spirit of liberty, that they will attempt to do on a vast scale what was done in St. Domingo." As an offset to the quotation which that honored gentleman made in his Faneuil Hall speech, I will read an extract which will give you another idea of Hayti. It was written by Baron de Vastrey, one of the counsellors of Christophe, himself a pure negro, who published some reflections on the state of Hayti, about thirty-five years ago. He says:

"Five and twenty years ago, we were plunged in the most complete ignorance. We had no notion of human society, no idea of happiness, and no powerful feelings. Our faculties, both physical and moral, were so overwhelmed under the load of slavery, that I, myself, who am writing this—I thought the world finished at the line which bounded my sight, and my fellow-countrymen were as ignorant as myself, and more so, if that were possible. I have known many of us who have learned to read and write without the benefit of instruction. Such men have become notaries, attorneys, advocates, judges, administrators, and have astonished the world by the sagacity of their judgment. Others have become sculptors and painters by their own exertions, and have astonished strangers by their works. Others, again, have succeeded as architects, mechanics, and manufacturers; others have worked mines of sulphur, fabricated saltpetre, and made excellent gunpowder, with no other guides than books of chemistry and mineralogy. And yet the Haytiens do not claim to be a manufacturing and commercial people. Agriculture and arms are our professions. Like the Romans, we go from arms to the plough, and from the plough to arms." (Applause.)

This is the kind of progress which our humane, democratical government is determined to put to a stop. The negro has no right to become industrious and intelligent. These things which tend to render him more barbarous. It is the lack and ignorance which have raised him to the elevated position which he now holds in this paradise.

But, let me tell Mr. Everett a fact which cannot be successfully refuted; and that is, in proportion to the population, Hayti to-day numbers more *educated* scholars than the United States. I do not mean men who pass through a four years' course of study in a college, where it is the interest of the institution to graduate as many as possible; but *educated* gentlemen, who will compare favorably with the best European scholars on the Continent, where they have graduated. Have the brothers who negro inferiority forgotten that, a few months since, three black gentlemen—Messieurs. Faubert, Dupuy, and Delva, from Hayti, took all the prizes at the reunion of the colleges of France—that the Emperor sent a detachment of his National Guards, with a band of music, to wait upon Mr. Faubert, the gentleman who took the first prize, the prize of Honor, and to congratulate him on his success? This honor was achieved over students from all the other countries in the civilized

world. I believe that no student from the United States has ever taken even a third prize at the Sorbonne reunions. I know the fact which I state. I was in Paris at the time, and had the honor of an invitation to a banquet given to the laureates. Black men have graduated here; but, if monkeys can pass through college in this country, I am certain that it takes men to do so in France. (Laughter.) And if black men prove themselves equal to the most finished European savants, Mr. Everett will need many facts and much logic to prove that we are by nature incapacitated for liberty. (Applause.)

Such men as Everett and Wise, Buchanan and Cushing, have such a morbid desire for devouring the blacks, that they can swallow a "nigger," as Bishop Butler's knave did a fool, much larger than himself; and if they can, like him, but get his head between their jaws, will carry the rest of him hanging out of their mouths, until by degrees they have digested him.

Now, I belong to that class of fanatics who believe that every man has the same inalienable rights; that any distinctions founded upon color are unjust; and that every man should be judged by his merits; that the black man is not as good as the white man, unless he does as good; if he acts as good, he is as good; if he conducts himself better, he is better. I believe that the outraged slave has not only the same rights as others, but a heavy claim upon you. If there is any human being whose cup of misery is full, it is his. He has nothing to console him. He has no bright future in the distance—no faint glimmerings of hope. Nothing greets him but suffering, and eternal toil without rest. To-night, after his daily labor, he lives in the bosom of his family; he dances his young babe on his knee; his children play about him; and his grown-up sons and daughters, who have walked several miles to be together, divert each other as best they can from the terrible monotony which is before them. To-morrow!—Great God of Justice! what a change! The mother and babe both on the auction-block,—one to go to a neighboring State, and the other to the far South! The father and sons on the plantation, under the cruel driver's lash. The daughters—where are they? aye, where are they?—in the power of the cold-blooded veteran ravisher! And to all this they are obliged to submit. There is no custom, no law, and no constitution to forbid it! There is no public sentiment to forbid it. If the slave says, "My hands, my body, my mind, myself," a million of Sharp's rifles are ready to make a sieve of his body!

This is the glorious institution which this present democratical government is seeking to extend and perpetuate in this country, and which has already the controlling power of the government. The Executive, the Legislative, the Military, and the Diplomatic powers, are under its immediate control. It says to the Executive, "Go," and he goes; to the National Legislature, "Come," and it comes; and to the Judiciary, "Do this," and it does it. It has now turned the sword of government into an assassin's dagger; and to this Executive and Judicial authorities are close and confidential associates.

The Republicans are checking this power; and, in this respect, I think they are doing a good work. The idea of "no more slave States" is good. The fewer the better. (Applause.) But they do not carry it far enough. I would have them say, "No more slavery!" The Republicans, however, have no idea of abolishing slavery. They go against slavery only so far as slavery goes against their interests; and if they keep on lowering their standard, so they have been for the last few years, they will soon say in New England, what they have said already in the Middle States, that the Republican party is not only the white man's party, but that "it aims to place white men and white labor against black men and black labor." Such republicanism is no better than democracy. But, in Massachusetts, there is some life, and many true lovers of liberty in the party, who mean to do right, even if the heavens fall; who intend to make the soil of this old Commonwealth free. To all such men, I am ready to give a hearty God-speed. Those of you who believe slavery to be not only a crime against morals, but against the eternal principles of justice, cannot consistently excuse yourselves from using our whole exertions to bring about its immediate abolition. The contest is now going bravely on. We have only to be true to our principles, and the victory is ours. A host of noble men have now met in collision, with a set of dark intriguing and desperate characters, and the terrible struggle between a slave oligarchy and a free Republic will soon close, and slavery go down in the tumult, never to rise again. (Loud applause.) Then we will all hail the happy day when we can have a country which recognizes no man as master, and no brother as a slave. (Applause.)

PLYMOUTH CHURCH SUSTAINING THE AMERICAN BOARD.

Henry Ward Beecher has long had the credit (with those who are not abolitionists) of being an abolitionist. To those who really hold that ground, it has been very plain that he has never taken it. His occasional sharp hits against slavery, like his occasional sharp hits against orthodoxy, and for heterodoxy, show merely what the combination of his internal feelings, with his external surroundings, put it into his head to utter at that moment; but whoever expects to hold him the next day, or the next week, to the position indicated by those utterances, will probably be disappointed. He is sentimentally opposed to slavery like every man of humane feelings and sense of natural justice; and thus, when he speaks of it without bias from professional considerations, he is likely to speak against it; but, in the eyes of slaveholders, the credit of the clerical body is more important than justice, more important than humanity, and in the great debate which has just closed in the Plymouth church at Brooklyn, the question was whether confidence should be withdrawn, and cash withheld, from a body so Reverend, pious, and venerable as the American Board, merely because it was pro-slavery; whether, in short, the fruits of a Christian life, as well as the leaves of a high "profession," should be demanded of that much-professing Association; and whether, in failure of such fruits, the Plymouth church should say plainly, of and to the Board, that it was weighed in the balances and found wanting, and that, therefore, the stewardship which it had misused should be taken from it, and given to another.

The question whether the money raised by the Plymouth church for Foreign Missions should be entrusted, as heretofore, to the American Board, or given to some Association free from complicity with slavery, has been debated in that church, with intense earnestness, for a month past. When the close of this discussion approached, the friends of the Board in that church found themselves so hard pressed by the reformatory party, under the leadership of Mr. Theodore Tilton, that they sent for Mr. Beecher, their pastor, (who was fulfilling some lecturing engagements in Boston,) to come to their help; and he went at once for that purpose, breaking his engagement to preach at the Music Hall. Provisionally, the gap thus made was filled, at the last moment, by a preacher equally eloquent and more Christian, Mr. Wendell Phillips; but many of the 28th Congregational Society were astonished to hear that it was to labor in defence of slavery that the eloquent Brooklyn preacher had broken his promise to them.

I have, from the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, and other sources, an account of the final meeting (Wednesday evening, 25th inst.) for the discussion of this subject, which was attended by two thousand persons. Mr. Tilton had the floor, to reply to Mr. Beecher's argument on Monday evening; but Mr. Beecher interposed his request that expressions of applause and disapprobation might be refrained from, as unsuitable to the character of "a church of Christ."

Mr. Tilton bestowed high praise upon Mr. Beecher, as he is accustomed to do, but said he did not join in the opinion which seemed to be gaining ground, that a pastor could do so wrong. He called their attention to the fact that this Board was the representative of a combination of American churches, whose complicity with slavery was a direct and so extensive, that their ministers and church-members are now holding 600,000 human beings in bondage. He reminded them that the members of the Indian mission churches had always been allowed to hold slaves, and that their missionaries had always refused to direct church discipline against this sin, and yet that the Board had never even required the exclusion of slaveholders, still less dismissed the missionaries for so prostituting their office. He expressed his surprise that Mr. Beecher called the Board a "venerable" institution, after such conduct as this; and that he would suffer its age and its reputation for piety to counterbalance such direct violation of Christian duty. He wondered that Mr. Beecher should single out for praise that missionary who had declared it "impossible to exercise discipline for the buying or selling of slaves." He wondered yet more at Mr. Beecher's advocacy of the admission of slaveholders to church communion. Why not make the door of the church as narrow that a slaveholder could not enter it carrying a slave with him? And, as to the claim that the ownership in question was for the good of the slave, why not ask the slave himself to testify? It was impossible for a man to be either *unwillingly* a slaveholder, or *innocently* a slaveholder.

Mr. Beecher had repeatedly advocated the application of religion to politics in the pulpit! Why did he now uphold the missionaries and the Prudential Committee in refusing to make such an application in the Indian churches? Mr. Beecher's father and brother (standing in the minority in an Annual Meeting of the Board) had opposed the withdrawal of Dr. Blanchard's resolution condemning slavery! Would Mr. Beecher now sustain the Board for voting down that resolution? Did he not know that the author of the "South-side View of Slavery" was every year re-elected a member of the Prudential Committee? Mr. Beecher claimed that the Board spread the Gospel! What kind of Gospel was it? He claimed, too, that the Board was gradually improving! If the improvement is so very gradual as not to encourage us to expect the needed amount of change in our lifetime, why should we wait for it? It was said, too, that the Board had no control over the missionaries! Could they not cut off their supplies, and end their connection with them? But, instead of cutting off the Choctaw missionaries, and sending better ones, they had cut off the mission; and they still retained the slaveholding Cherokee mission.

Mr. Tilton ventured to apply the *argumentum ad hominem* to his pastor, once to his language, and once to his action, and in each case with such pungent appropriateness as to call forth hearty applause from the church, in spite of the pastoral prohibition. In regard to Mr. Beecher's statement that "in the Providence of God" he was absent from the earlier debates upon this subject, Mr. Tilton said he had supposed this absence to be "under the extraordinary dispensation of \$100 per night," and that the ways of Providence were indeed mysterious. Finally, Mr. Tilton exhibited a *Sharpe's rifle*—one of twenty-five which had been subscribed for and sent to Kansas by this very church, under the fervent appeals of the pastor, and which had been used effectively against the border ruffians, this particular weapon having been three months in the hands of John Brown—and made an impressive appeal to Mr. Beecher, urging that, if the defence of freedom in Kansas needed the application of such means of resistance, he should at least send to the American Board, and to their Cherokee missionaries, some effective verbal protest, some energetic testimony against their continued complicity with the sin of slavery, and against the diabolic and corruption thence resulting to the Church.

If Mr. Beecher had kept within the bounds of truth in his reply to this speech, the impression of it could not have been effaced, its argument would have remained unanswered, and the vote of the church must have gone against the Board. If the report of this reply in the *Eagle* be correct, he uttered repeated and flagrant violations of the truth, namely:

1. The only fact he found with Mr. Tilton's speech was, that "it had nothing to do with the subject under discussion." (!)
2. The American Board had kept pace with the times, "and now stands upon a Christian basis." (!)
3. "This is just what Dr. Pomroy said in England."
4. "When the Choctaw missionaries refused to teach an Anti-Slavery Gospel, the Board cut them off."—[Here three deceptive ideas are condensed into one short sentence.]
5. "Now the Cherokee missionaries had promised to fulfil the instructions of the Board."—[Here two deceptive ideas are condensed into one sentence.]
6. "For the last fifteen years, the American Board had been progressing—had been drawing its hands tighter and tighter against the expediencies of slaveholding." [The only progress the Board has made in regard to slaveholding has been in increasing the number of its hypocritical expedients to *seem* to be moving, while it stood still. It has never prohibited slaveholding; either in its Choctaw or Cherokee churches.]
7. A long debate ended by the vote of a very large majority of the church to sustain the American Board. All the accounts agree in ascribing this vote to the personal influence of the pastor. If Mr. Beecher had supported Mr. Tilton, the vote would have been unanimous against the Board. As it was, the reformatory party gained everything but the vote. They diffused important intelligence upon the subject, of which the church, through the fault of its pastor, (by all that remained ignorant.) They made a strong local impression, bringing out the facts which Mr. Beecher had smothered in silence, and showing a direct manner in which the Church, the minister, and the Board fortified the position of the mass of vulgar and cruel slaveholders. This impression was so strong, and so pervading, that nothing less than the sophistical eloquence of the pastor, backed by the personal influence, could have given the vote its actual direction.
8. Mr. Beecher had the opportunity, in this case, to do a work of immense importance to the nation of the Church and the over-the-sea Society. He has chosen not only to throw away this opportunity, but to turn his influence actively in a *directly* opposite direction. It is well, at least, that he has actually dispelled the delusion of those who counted him an abolitionist.
9. Tilton and his friends have now their choice. They will either make a mode of energetic protest and call for a withdrawal of the Board, or they will, by their withdrawal from the church, or by increased and concentrated efforts, win it? Surely, they will not now shrink from the further duty that lies before them!—C. W. W.

ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Box, Sunday, Feb. 5.
West Gloucester, Monday, " 6.
Gloucester, Tuesday, " 7.
Manchester, Wednesday, " 8.
North Beverly, Thursday, " 9.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON will speak for the Twenty-Eighth Congregational Society (Rev. Theodore Parker) on Sunday forenoon next, Feb. 6, at Music Hall.

E. H. HEYWOOD will speak at Worcester, Sunday evening, Feb. 6, at Hubbardston, " " 12.

POETRY.

FREEDOM'S MARTYR.

DEAR MR. GARRISON—You will oblige me by inserting in the *Liberator* the following thrilling lines of WHITTIER, written many years ago, (as a tribute to a lamented friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, President C. B. STORRS,) and which seem to me more applicable to Freedom's martyr, JOHN BROWN, than the lines upon him by WHITTIER, in the *New York Independent*!

Thou hast fallen in this armor,
Thou martyr of the Lord!
With thy last breath crying, "Onward!"
And thy hand upon the sword.
The haughty heart derided,
And the sinful lip reviled,
But the blessing of the perishing
Around thy pillow smiles.
Oppression's hand may scatter
Its seed on thy tomb,
And even Christian bosoms
Deny thy memory room;
For lying lips shall torture
Thy memory into crime,
And the slanderer shall flourish
As the bay-tree for a time.
But where the South wind lingers
On Carolina's pines,
Or falls the careless sunbeam
Down Georgia's golden mines;
Where now beneath his burthen
The toiling slave is driven,
Where now a tyrant's mockery
Is offered unto Heaven;
Where Mammon hath its altars
Wet o'er with human blood,
And pride and lust debases
The workmanship of God;
There shall thy praise be spoken,
Redeemed from falsehood's ban,
When the fetters shall be broken,
And the slaves shall be a man!
In the evil days before us,
And the trials yet to come;
In the shadow of the prison,
Or the cruel martyrdom;
We will think of thee, O brother!
And thy sainted name shall be
In the blessing of the captive,
And the anthem of the free.

LINES, written by Mrs. LUDIA MARIA CHILD, and sung at the Music Hall, on the twenty-sixth National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary, Jan. 26, 1860.

THE HERO'S HEART.

When he went from the jail to the gallows, he stooped to kiss a colored child that stood near.
A winter sunshine, still and bright,
The blue hills bathed with golden light,
And earth was smiling to the sky,
When calmly he went forth to die.
Infernal passions festered there,
Where peaceful Nature looked so fair;
And fiercely, in the morning sun,
Flashed glittering bayonet and gun.
The old man met no friendly eye,
When last he looked on earth and sky;
But one small child, with timid air,
Was gazing on his silver hair.
As that dark brow to his up-turned,
The tender heart within him yearned;
And, fondly stooping o'er her face,
He kissed her, for her injured race.
The little one, she knew not why,
That kind old man went forth to die;
Nor why, mid all that pomp and stir,
He stooped to give a kiss to her.
But Jesus smiled that sight to see,
And said, "He did it unto me!"
The golden harp then sweetly rung,
And this the song the angels sung:
"Who loves the poor, doth love the Lord!
Earth cannot dim thy bright reward;
We hover o'er you yallow high,
And wait to bear thee to the sky."

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE SLAVE-GIRL'S PRAYER.

Within the fairest of the Southland's bowers,
Beneath thy blue, star-jeweled canopy,
Amid the clustering vines and fragrant flowers,
Father, in agony I kneel to thee!
Still through the leaves I see the moonlight gleaming,
Still hear the far-off murmur of the sea;
But, ah! no longer comes the old, sweet dreaming;
In anguish deep and strong I kneel to thee!
The dreams of childhood, they were glad once ever;
I knew not then the misery of my lot;
Too soon I learned; and in my soul, oh! never
Can that dark hour of suffering be forgot.
Once every flower and wave and star seemed given
To fill my heart with joy; now all is over;
The glory of Thy earth, and sea, and heaven,
But mocks my woe—it gladdens me no more.
I know that Thou art merciful and tender;
Thou canst not hate me, unmoved, the prayer of woe;
Oh, take me to Thee! let me now surrender
This hated breath—my spirit longs to go.
Ah, worse than death the doom of shame and sorrow,
That now, oh Father! waits thy suffering child;
The horrid fate that waits me on the morrow,
Where my heart grows sick, my brain turns wild.
Only to die! it seems not much to pray for!
"Tis but a little bow, yet oh, how blest!
And the crushed soul, with naught on earth to stay for,
Enters with joy into that perfect rest.
The night speeds on! and yet Thou dost not hearken
To the last prayer o'er to be breathed by me;
Gleam the clouds of anguish round me darken,
For I am losing faith and hope in Thee.
Oh, hear me, Father! let it not be shaken—
My trust in Thee—my only hope of peace;
Oh, grant my prayer! for only by Thee forsaken,
By mine own hand my misery must cease!
From friends, from kindred, every loved one parted,
No heart to pity me, no hand to save,
I seek the refuge which the broken-hearted
Find only in the quiet of the grave.
Salem, Mass., 1859. C. L. F.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

CHARLES SUMNER.

Home, to thy post, brave Sumner!—years of pain,
Of sorrowing exile, have but proved thee true!
With silent fetters what hast thou to do?
Thine is the bludgeon's blow, the fowler's cane.
Teach, still, thy better way! that all in vain
The death-stroke of slavery, right to subdue:
That war's unholy orgies are untrue
To man, to God, to love to the Christian plane.
How rare! By striving, such as Christ's and thine!
Reasons of Peace, enhanced by life and deed;
Proving their origin from source divine.
By martyr-suffering, so there be need.
Where MAN hath gone—where ADAM led the way—
Whence all light comes, thou shalt meet the day.
Milney, Nov. 22, 1859. A. F. C.

THE LIBERATOR.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THEODORE PARKER TO A FRIEND IN BOSTON.

Roxbury, Dec. 24, 1859.

What a stormy time you are having in America! Your cradle was rocked in the Revolution, and now in your old age you see the storm of another Revolution beginning: none knows when and where it shall end. Yesterday, the telegraph brought us the expected intelligence that the slaveholders had hung Capt. John Brown! Of course, I knew from the moment of his capture what his fate would be: the logic of slavery is stronger than the intellect or personal will of any man, and it bears all Southern politicians along with it. No martyr whose tragic story is written in the Christian books ever bore himself more heroically than Capt. Brown; for he was not only a martyr,—any bully can be that,—but also a SAINT,—which no bully can ever be. None ever fell in a more righteous cause!—It has a great future, too, which he has helped bring nearer and make more certain. I confess I am surprised to find love for the man, admiration for his conduct, and sympathy with his object, so wide-spread in the North, especially in New England, and more particularly in dear, good, old Boston! Think of the Old South on the same platform with Emerson and Phillips! Think of sermons like Wheelock's, Newhall's, Freeman Clarke's and Cheever's Thanksgiving sermon at New York—an Orthodox Minister giving bulk putting John Brown before Moses! The *New York Herald* had an extract from a sermon.

It was such as none but a mean soul could preach on such an occasion; but we must remember that it takes a mean man as much to be mean and little, as it does a noble one to be grand and generous. Every minister must bear sermons after his kind; for of a thorn men do not gather figs, nor of a bramble-bush gather they grapes. I rather think the Currier did not fire a hundred cannon on Boston Common when they heard that John Brown was hung, as they did when the Fugitive Slave Bill passed. There has been a little change since 1850, and men not capable of repentance are yet liable to shame—and if they cannot be converted, may yet be shamed.

Well, things can never stand as they did three months ago. On the morning of the 19th of April, 1776, at day-break, Old England and New—Great Britain and the thirteen colonies—were one Nation. At sunrise, they were two. The fire of the grenadiers made reconciliation impossible, and there must be war and separation. It is so now. Great events turn on small hinges, and let mankind march through. How different things happen from what we fancy! All good institutions are founded on some great truth of the mind or conscience; and, when such a truth is to be put over the world's highway, we think it must be borne forward on the shoulders of some mighty horse whom God has shod strong all round for that special purpose, and we wonder where the creature is, and when he will be road-ready; and look after his deep foot-prints, and listen for his step or his snorting. But it sometimes happens that the Divine Providence uses quite humble cattle to bear his most precious burthens, both fast and far. Some 3000 or 4000 years ago, a body of fugitives—slaves—poor, leprous, ill-clad, fled out of Egypt, under the guidance of a man who slew an Egyptian. He saw a man do a vile thing to one of his slaves, and lynched him on the spot—then ran for it.

Those fugitive slaves had a great truth. The world, I think, had not known before it. The Oneness of God!—at least, their leader had it, and for hundreds of years did this despised people keep the glorious treasure which Egypt did not know—glorious Greece and Rome never understood. Who would have thought the Ark of such salvation would have been trusted to such feeble hands!

Some 1800 or 1900 years ago, who would have looked to a Jewish Carpenter of Galilee, and a Jewish tent-maker of Tarsus in Cilicia, with few adherents—fishermen—obscure people—unlearned and ignorant men? Who would have looked to such persons for a truth of religion which should overturn all the temples of the old world, and drive the gods of Olympus from their time-honored thrones of reverence and power? The Rome of the Popes is, no doubt, as Polytheistic as the Rome of the Caesars—but the old gods are gone, and men worship the Fisherman and the Tent-maker.

It was the Augustinian Monk who broke the Roman Hierarchy to atoms. Tough in the brains, tough in the bones, mighty also by his love of the people and his trust in God, he did what it seemed only the great councils of the learned could accomplish—he routed the Popes, and wrested the German world from their rude and bloody grasp.

At a later day, when the new Continent which God had kept from the foundation of the world—a virgin hid away between the Atlantic and the Pacific—was to be joined to Humanity, in the hopes of founding such a Family of Men as the world had never seen, was there any one who would have thought that the Puritan, fired in his British home, and driven out thence with fire and sword, would be the Representative of Humanity, and claim and win that Bride, and wed her too, with nuptials now so auspicious? Yet so it turns out, and the greatest social and political achievement of the human race is wrought out by that Puritan, with his Bride—whose only dowry was her broad lands. Really, it seems as if God chose the small things to confound the great. But when we look again, and study carefully the relation which these seemingly insignificant agents bear to the whole force of Humanity, then it appears they were the very agents most fit for the work they did. I think it will turn out so in the case of Capt. Brown. What the masterly eloquence of Seward could not accomplish, even by his mainly appeal to the Higher Law, nor the eloquence of Phillips and Sumner, addressed to the conscience and common sense of the people, seems likely to be brought to pass by John Brown—a statesman, no orator, but an upright and downright man, who took his life in his hand, and said—'Slavery shall go down, even if it be put down by red swords!' I thanked God for John Brown years ago; he and I are no strangers, and still more so his sainthood is crowned with martyrdom. I am glad he came from that Mayflower company—that his grandfather was a captain in the Revolutionary war—the true aristocratic blood of America runs in his veins. All the grand institutions of America, which give such original power to the people, came from that Puritan stock, who trusted in God, and kept their powder dry—who stood up straight when they prayed, and also when they fought. Yes, all the grand original ideas, which are now on their way to found new institutions, and will make the future better than the past or present—they come from the same source.

Virginia may be the mother of Presidents, (she yet keeps the ashes of two great ones,—only their ashes, not their souls,) but it is New England that is mother of great ideas. God is their Father—mother also of communities, rich with intelligent and democratic power.

John Brown came from a good lineage; his life proves it—and his death. It is not for you or me to select the instruments wherewith the providence of mankind has the world's work done by human hands: it is only for us to do our little duty, and take the good and ill which come of it.

When the monster which hinders the progress of Humanity is to be got rid of, no matter if the battle-axe have rust on its hilt, and spots, here and there, upon its blade—mementoes of ancient war; if its edge have but the power to bite, the monster shall be cloven down, and mankind walk triumphantly on to-morrow, to fresh work and triumph new.

But I did not mean to write you such a letter as this—it wrote itself, and I couldn't help it. I cannot sleep nights, for thinking of these things. I am ashamed to be sick and good for nothing in times like these, but can't help it, and must be judged by what I can do, not can't do.

It is curious to find the slaves volunteering to go to shoot men (in buckram) who are coming a thousand at a time to rescue Capt. Brown! The African is as much superior to the Anglo-Saxon in cunning and arts of hypocrisy—except the ecclesiastical—as he is inferior in general power of mind. Didn't a negro in Savannah tell a Northern minister—I do not want to be free!—I only 'fraid to be slave of sin! dar! it, massa, Ise afraid of De Debi, not of massa!' What a guinea he gave when with his countrymen alone! and how he mimicked the gestures of the South-side, white-choked priest, who bore 'his great commission in his work'!

But I end as I began—what a stormy time is before us! There are not many men of conscience like John Brown, but abundance of men of wrath—and the time for them—I know not when it is.

Farewell!
THEODORE PARKER.

THE LIBERATOR.

from numerous incidents in his career. And, above all, he was a hero, whose manly bearing and courage had struck terror into the hearts of American tyrants, from which they can never recover. John Brown was never so really alive or so efficient in action as now, and hence it is that the Moloch of Democratic slavery trembles, and stands aghast from the fear of what the memory of that 'honest, truthful, sincere, and brave old man,' will yet do for the liberation of the slave.

LA ROY SUNDERLAND.

Boston, Dec. 9th, 1859.

THE MISSION OF JOHN BROWN.

Had the churches and the ministry in this country only thirty years ago begun and continued an earnest and powerful protest, against the American system of wickedness in less time than it pleased God to take for the moulding and discipline of his character and life, as the first great martyr before the Moloch of the sin. We thank God for the grace of God vouchsafed in him. He is the legitimate fruit of that piety with which the study of the word of God by prayer, informs, energizes the soul. He is the masterpiece of that school of the old masters among whom he had his education and brought up by family, Bunyan, Baxter, John Fox, Doddridge, the Saint's Rest, the Book of Martyrs, and the Pilgrim's Progress, which he had in his heart, unaffected deep humility towards God, mingled with such firmness towards men, conspicuous in his nature. We thank God for all the precious evidences of his Christian experience and character. We thank God for the triumphant testimony he has been enabled to leave in gratitude for the grace of God to the honor of his word, to the efficacy of prayer, to the reality of faith, in the confidence of his own soul in God, in Jesus Christ, unshaken in the most trying hour and circumstances of existence. One such man, one such great heart, one such noble Christian, one such true and sincere man, one such noble and single testimony against slavery shines like the sun, in spite of all the darkness and lying of all the pro-slavery churches in Christendom. In an age of shams, here is one reality; in an age of speculative theological and editorial skeletons hung round with broadsheet, here is a living soul; in an age of paste and rags, here is a man of God; in an age of hollow and cant, here is a faith—a man to whom the idea of disinterested benevolence was a living expression—a man to whom the negro was a brother and a man, and not a thing, to be used as a means to an end, and then to be thrown away like a piece of refuse. We thank God for the noble and single testimony against slavery shines like the sun, in spite of all the darkness and lying of all the pro-slavery churches in Christendom. 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